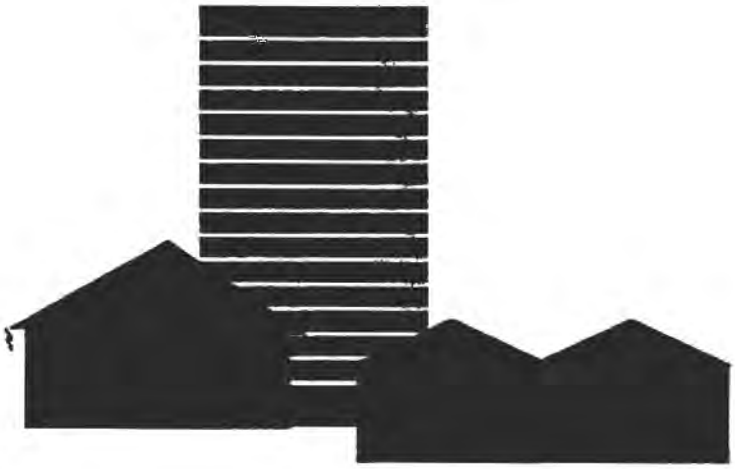
Finding Room: Housing Solutions for the Future



Report of the National Liberal Caucus Task Force on Housing

Paul Martin M.P.

Joe Fontana M.P.

May 14, 1990

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL CAUCUS TASK FORCE ON HOUSING

CO-CHAIRS

Paul Martin M.P.
(LaSalle-Émard)

Critic For Urban Affairs and Housing

Joe Fontana M.P.
(London East)

Associate Critic For Urban Affairs and Housing

PARLIAMENTARY PARTICIPANTS

Maurizio Bevilacqua M.P. (York North)

Marlene Catterall M.P. (Ottawa West)

Mary Clancy M.P. (Halifax)

Ron Duhamel M.P. (St. Boniface)

John Harvard M.P. (Winnipeg-St.James)

Shirley Maheu M.P. (Saint Laurent-Cartierville)

Jean-Claude Malépart M.P. (Laurier--Sainte-Marie)

John Manley M.P. (Ottawa South)

Sergio Marchi M.P. (York West)

Dennis Mills M.P. (Broadview-Greenwood)

George Rideout M.P. (Moncton)

Senator David G. Steuart (Prince Albert -Duck Lake)

Senator Raymond J. Perrault (North Shore-Burnaby)

Jim Barkhouse MLA Nova Scotia

Robert Lamoureux MLA Manitoba

Lynda Haverstock Leader Saskatchewan Liberal Party

TASK FORCE STAFF

Dan McCarthy — National Liberal Caucus Research Bureau

Benoit Labonté — Legislative Assistant to Paul Martin M.P.

Christina Dona — Legislative Assistant to Joe Fontana M.P.

HOUSE OF COMMONS
CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES
OTTAWA, CANADA
K1A 0A6

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

May 14, 1990

"THE GOVERNMENT HAS GIVEN UP ON HOUSING" - LIBERAL TASK FORCE ON HOUSING

OTTAWA - "The federal government has abandonned its responsibilities with regards to housing problems," Liberal M.P.s Paul Martin and Joe Fontana said today during the release of the Liberal Task Force Report on Housing.

Mr. Martin and Mr. Fontana, respectively official Opposition critic for Housing and Urban Affairs and Associate critic, are co-chairs of the task force, which was created to study Canada's current housing crisis, give Canadians a chance to voice their concerns to the government and to find concrete solutions to the ongoing problem. The final report is titled Finding Room: Housing Solutions for the Future.

"The housing crisis is growing at an alarming rate and the government sits there and does nothing; it refuses to apply the urgent measures that are required to reverse this deteriorating situation," noted Mr. Martin. He added that, "the lack of affordable housing contributes to and accelerates the cycle of poverty, which is reprehensible in a society as rich as ours."

"The federal government's role would be that of a partner working with other levels of government, and private and public housign groups. But leadership must come from one source; and a national vision requires some national direction," said Mr. Fontana, M.P. for London East.

It is becoming increasingly difficult to find affordable housing in Canada. The recommendations in this report suggest ways that this major problem may be solved.

The Task Force held hearings in nine Canadian cities from August 30 to October 16, 1989.

For more information call: Dan McCarthy (613) 995-0886
Christina Dona (613) 992-0805
Benoit Labonté (613) 992-4284

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
	INTRODUCTION	1
I.	WHY A LIBERAL TASK FORCE ON HOUSING?	3
II.	ADEQUATE SHELTER: A Fundamental Human Right	7
III.	HOUSING: The Cause Of And... A Potential Solution To Poverty In Canada	12
IV.	HOMEOWNERSHIP: Affordable Financing Required	25
V.	FORGING NEW PARTNERSHIPS: The Non-Profit Sector, The Private Sector And Government	31
VI.	JUSTICE FOR CANADA'S ABORIGINAL PEOPLES	37
VII.	THE GOODS AND SERVICES TAX: Taxing The Canadian Dream	43
	APPENDIX A: List Of Recommendations	
	APPENDIX B: List Of Public Hearings And Presenters	

FEDERAL INACTION

In the name of deficit reduction the Conservative government has cut federal spending on the backs of the poor. Housing programs have consistently been a victim of this government's insensitivity to the social ills created by federal policy.

The present Tory government created a Minister of State for Housing, but it diminished housing as a policy priority. It not only ignores the housing crisis, it exacerbates it.

* Rather than encouraging the construction of affordable housing, it has taxed new housing with the Goods and Services Tax, which has an inflationary effect on the price of both new and existing housing.

* In 1984, the Tory government has cut the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP) by $29.4 million. By 1986, RRAP would be cut in half and total grants and contributions from the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation would fall by $400 million on an annual basis. In 1989, the rental component of RRAP was eliminated.

* In 1984, the social housing budget was cut by $9.6 million. The most recent federal budget took another chunk out of the CMHC's social housing budget, to the tune of $165 million over the next five years.

* In 1989, funding for co-op housing was cut from $7.8 million to $5.5 million, bringing it down to 1986 levels with adjustments for inflation. There are thousands of people in Ontario alone who are on waiting lists for co-op housing across the country, but this government has decreased the production of co-ops from 4,748 units to 2,040 in 1989.

FEDERAL LEADERSHIP IN HOUSING

The Task Force members believe that all Canadians deserve decent, affordable housing. Conquering the lack of affordable housing is key to solving the rising poverty in Canada. A government housing policy is therefore a necessary ingredient of a comprehensive social policy as well as economic, health and environmental policies.

Housing as an area of public policy crosses all levels of government: municiple, provincial and federal. Housing policy decisions at one level of government will affect delivery of programs at another level.

The Task Force does not believe that the national government, the private housing sector or the non-profit sector can, in isolation, resolve the tremendous housing deficiencies facing this country. And policy initiatives must respect the regional character of housing. But this does not preclude the development of a new national housing strategy.

Co-operation and forging new partnerships is key to housing policy. In order for affordable and decent housing to be available to all Canadians, all levels of government as well as the private, non-profit and co-operative housing sectors must be involved in the consultative process and delivery process.

The federal government's role would be that of a partner working in concert with other levels of government and housing groups. But leadership must come from one source.

A national vision requires some national direction. It is necessary for the federal government to co-ordinate a national housing strategy. Since few provinces can cover the costs of a comprehensive housing strategy, the federal government must play a major role in funding. It must also take a leadership role in setting direction, standards and initiatives for housing policy. Only the federal government has the position and the financial resources to provide leadership in solving the housing problems of today.

STATISTICS

Affordable housing has become an increasingly unobtainable goal:

* At least 1.3 million Canadians are in core need of housing, which means they pay more than 30 per cent of their income for shelter.

* Forty per cent of all single parents in Canada are raising their children in unacceptable housing conditions.

* Four out of ten seniors who are single spend their final years in core need.

* A quarter of all Toronto tenants pay more than 50 per cent of their income for rent.

* In New Brunswick alone, 10,000 families wait for subsidized housing.

* In Montreal there are 14,000 households waiting for public housing and another 8,000 waiting for co-operative or non-profit housing.

* There are 54,000 households in Ontario waiting for affordable housing.

* The average price of a home in Canada is expected to reach $151,900 in 1990. Yet the average annual family income is less than $50,000. Depending on interest rates and the location of a home, the average family would have to devote 50, 60 and even 70 per cent of its household income on shelter alone.

* With interest rates climbing over 14 per cent, there are only 270,000 potential buyers of the average $150,000 home compared to 475,000 potential buyers two years ago when the interest rates were only 10 to 11 per cent.

* Although 62 per cent of all Canadian households currently own their own homes, affordability has become more and more of a problem. Housing prices have increased as much as 150 per cent in the last five years alone. Interest rates have also climbed, increasing the burden on the homebuyer. The availability of affordable housing has diminished. Where will our children live? Will they ever be able to buy their own home?

* Poverty and homelessness are symptons of the broader crisis in the supply of affordable housing. The poor are forced to pay more and more of their income on shelter that is becoming increasingly inadequate. As shetler costs swallow more of a family's earnings, households spend less and less on other necessities. A report about Food Banks estimates that 1.4 million Canadians, including 566,000 children, use food banks.

LIST OF RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government place the issue of shelter rights on the list of items to be discussed at the next First Ministers' Conference.

2. The Task Force urges the Conservative government to lift the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP) ceilings announced in the 1990 Budget. Further, that negotiations be initiated with the provinces, in the context of CAP, to increase the implicit shelter component of provincial social assistance allowances.

3. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government initiate consultations and negotiations with the provinces to establish a new social program which provides an income supplement for workers whose earnings from employment leaves them below the poverty line. This program should: be built upon existing provincial income supplementation programs; be national in scope and cost-shared by federal and provincial governments; support the work ethic; vary the amount of supplement depending on the number of children in the family; and complement existing social programs and initiatives recommended by this report.

4. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government immediately convene a National Conference on the Homeless with participation from all levels of government, the non-profit sector and the private sector to set real objectives and policy responses for the eradication of homelessness in Canada. As well, the federal government must initiate discussions with provincial Ministries of Health and/or Community and Social Servies to ensure that the immediate and long-term needs of the homeless are addressed.

5. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government reinstate the funds cut in April, 1989 from the rental component of the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program. In addition, new guidelines must be presented to ensure that the mandate of this program is unquestionably to assist in the provision of affordable rental accommodations for needy Canadians.

6. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government immediately commence a review of the disabled persons component of the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program with a view to improving accessibility criteria. Further, that the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation examine the feasibility of basing assistance upon the individual's degree of disability as opposed to a strict definition of income, within reason.

7. The Task Force recommends that funding for the Federal Co-operative Housing program and the Rent Supplement Program be increased to allow for the construction of 5,000 new co-operative housing units annually. Further, it is suggested that a formal consultative mechanism be established with the Co-operative Housing Federation of Canada with respect to the disposition of surplus federal lands. Finally, the Task Force recommends that the Conservative government use the current evaluation of the Federal Co-operative Housing Program to examine new possibilities for co-operative housing in Canada.

8. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government amend Treasury Board regulations which require that Crown lands be disposed of at market prices and that federal departments, Crown corporations and agencies be required to identify land parcels, buildings and facilities surplus to their needs. Surplus Crown lands should be made available, on a priority basis, to public and private non-profit and co-operative housing companies, associations and groups. The government should explore the feasibility of leasing Crown lands to assist in the production of affordable housing. Further, that a comprehensive policy for the disposition of these lands be implemented including mechanisms to facilitate the involvement of private sector developers and municipalities in the production of affordable housing.

9. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government ensure that an adequate supply of affordable housing units be made available under the amalgam of programs administered by the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation for individuals with special needs. The location and design of units supported by CMHC must not prevent or discourage occupants from seeking or receiving rehabilitative and clinical services.

10. The Task Force urges the Minister of State (Housing) to expedite the development of a new national allocation formula which minimizes the year to year funding reductions a province may incur.

11. The Task Force implores the Conservative government to take immediate steps to lower the Bank of Canada prime rate and thus moderate mortgage interest rates.

12. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government undertake a thorough examination of the proposal of the Canadian Real Estate Association respecting the use of RRSP funds for home purchases, with a consultative process to include representatives from the home building industry, financial institutions and the

investment community. Further, the examination should extend beyond RRSP holdings to include other pension/retirement mechanisms.

13. The Task Force recommends that Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation in co-operation with the Department of Finance undertake a thorough review of mortgage financing in Canada. This review should pay particular attention to measures such as the Mortgage-Backed Securities Program and other such instruments which work to stabilize and moderate mortgage interest rates. Further, that the review include intensive consultations with the Canadian financial community and the home building industry.

14. The Task Force recommends that the Minister of State (Housing) convene a special meeting of his provincial counterparts and the Federation of Canadian Municipalities to review the full range of consequences of housing taxation at all three levels of government. Further, that the federal government give consideration to the total level of taxation on housing prior to any subsequent tax inceases at the national level in this area.

15. The Task Force recommends that the Minister of State (Housing) convene at the earliest possible date, a National Housing Forum to discuss the development of a national housing policy and related strategies such as municipal infrastructure, aimed at alleviating the housing crisis in Canada.

16. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government take steps necessary to increase the investment of private capital and the use of private sector resources in the provision of affordable housing by encouraging private lenders and developers to participate in public-private partnerships.

17. The Task Force urges the Conservative government to begin immediately, a consultation process involving Revenue Canada, the Department of Finance and Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation with a view to developing new community and housing investment mechanisms which facilitate the construction, acquisition or rehabilitation of affordable housing through public-private and non-profit-private partnerships.

18. The Task Force recommends that Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation study the concept of Community Land Trusts with a view to determining their efficiency and effectiveness in providing long-term affordable housing.

19. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government establish a single federal agency in partnership with the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, for an initial period of five years, to assume complete responsibility for Indian housing in that province. Further, the Task Force recommends that the process be evaluated with a view to implementation on a national scale.

20. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government set the year 2000 as the target for the elimination of sub-standard on-reserve housing and allocate the necessary funds to accomplish this objective.

21. The Task Force recommends that the Canadian Job Strategy (CJS) criteria be revised to restore construction-related employment training and job creation assistance.

22. The Task Force recommends that the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation's program criteria be revised to increase their relevance in addressing aboriginal housing concerns. Natives, both on-reserve and off-reserve, must be afforded access to the full range of CMHC programs.

23. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government begin consultations with First Nations to develop new and innovative methods to enhance ownership prospects both on- and off-reserve. These discussions should include the concept of sweat equity as a means to this end.

24. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative Goods and Services Tax proposal be withdrawn.

25. Further to the preceding recommendation, the Task Force recommends that the Conservative government begin consultations with Canadians and provincial governments on the creation of a fair and integrated reform of the entire tax system. The present Manufacturers Sales Tax (often referred to as the Federal Sales Tax) must not be replaced with a tax that creates more inequities and deepens the affordability crisis faced by hundreds of thousands of Canadian households.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL LIBERAL CAUCUS TASK FORCE ON HOUSING

May 14, 1990

INTRODUCTION

The Liberal Task Force on Housing was formed in response to requests from numerous citizens groups, interested associations and members of the National Liberal Caucus, that realistic solutions to the present crisis be presented directly to the Conservative government. Between August and October of 1989, the Task Force visited seven provinces and held nine public hearings. The Task Force heard more than 60 witnesses and received more than 100 written submissions from housing advocates, industry representatives and concerned citizens.

Canada is presently confronted with a major housing crisis. In recent months, the Task Force has heard from every region of this country and everywhere the message is the same: the situation is critical; and immediate action is necessary to correct the problem. Every part of the country is faced with difficulties related to its particular circumstances. Problems of availability, affordability, homeless citizens and many others are causing much distress across the country. In a country such as ours, it is unacceptable that there are 1.3 million households living in inadequate housing or forced to pay an unreasonably high percentage of their income on housing. These are the official numbers: but the depths of despair resulting from the housing crisis in Canada affect many more families and individuals than are reflected in these numbers.

The Task Force was told in graphic detail of the awesome problems facing Canadians searching for adequate, affordable housing: the housing crisis for low-income families; the decline in the percentage of homeownership and the myriad of factors placing this dream out of the reach of many families; the deplorable conditions faced by the aboriginal peoples; the concentrations of poverty in both decaying urban neighbourhoods and rural communities; the special housing needs of the homeless, the elderly, the handicapped and single-parent families; and the discriminatory practices endured by ethnic minorities and the poor. Associated problems include the deteriorating urban infrastructure in many centres; concerns about the impact of development on the environment; and the continuance of the high quality of life in our cities which many Canadians take for granted.

Since taking office, the Mulroney government has drastically cut housing budgets and programs, transferred its responsibilities to the provinces without the requisite financial resources, and ignored the crying needs of hundreds of thousands of Canadian households. The new Goods and Services Tax is illustrative of the Conservative attitude towards housing: because of this tax many Canadians will no longer be able to find decent and affordable housing. New homes are to be

taxed and rents will increase due to the effect of the new tax on maintenance, repairs and utility costs. Upon being appointed to the Cabinet over a year ago, Mr. Alan Redway promised to take action. However, the present course of action is budget cuts, stall tactics and indifference. The Conservative government has demonstrated a total lack of leadership and compassion on this issue.

This report contains a series of recommendations which members of the Task Force believe represent a radical departure from the stand-pat position of the Conservative government. Task Force members believe that all Canadians deserve decent, affordable housing. The Task Force does not believe that the national government, the private housing sector or the non-profit sector can, in isolation, resolve the tremendous housing deficiencies facing this country. Nor does the Task Force believe that solutions relevant to Toronto, Montreal or Vancouver will necessarily work in Charlottetown or Regina. Policy initiatives must respect the regional character of housing. This imperative does not, however, preclude the development of a new national housing strategy.

The common thread running throughout the recommendations of this report is that of co-operation and partnership. Indeed, one section of this report is entitled, Forging New Partnerships. All the players in the housing sector must facilitate the development of new partnership arrangements. The Task Force was impressed by the desire of representatives from the private and the non-profit sectors to work together to achieve Canada's housing needs. New partnerships must also be forged between the aboriginal peoples and the national government and between the three levels of government.

None of the recommendations will on their own, resolve the housing problems faced by Canadians. Taken together though, the initiatives recommended in this report will set a new direction and reassert the leadership which is vital to seeking these resolutions. There is currently a vacuum in federal policy and direction. A new national policy must reflect both the urgent housing needs of Canadians and the new capacities which have developed throughout the housing sector, at all levels. The first priority must be the restoration of the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) to a position of leadership and strength. CMHC must in all respects, be a vigorous leader of comprehensive efforts to deal with the conditions of the 1990s. Only the national government has the financial resources to address the full dimensions of the needs in this country. Only the national government can put in place the framework for a Canadian housing policy. The Task Force calls upon the government to implement the recommendations of this report and move to ensure that all Canadians have access to decent, affordable housing.

I. WHY A LIBERAL TASK FORCE ON HOUSING ?

> Both low-income earners and people on social assistance experience serious difficulties in their search for adequate housing. Many who rent housing in the private market spend half or even three-quarters of their meagre incomes on housing, leaving very little for food and other essentials. Moreover, the quality of the housing they are able to get is often seriously deficient.
>
> Mr. Terrence Hunsley, Executive Director
> Canadian Council on Social Development
> Ottawa
> October 16, 1989

The answer is simple: affordable housing has become an increasingly unobtainable goal for too many segments of our population and the Conservative government is unable or unwilling to address the issue in a meaningful fashion.

The Task Force received briefs and presentations from cities and towns, housing advocacy groups, homebuilders associations, representatives of other sectors of the industry and concerned individuals from across Canada. The presenters were unanimous in the view that while the majority of Canadians are well-housed, hundreds of thousands of households struggle to pay the rent, to find decent housing or to realize the dream of homeownership.

"Pathetic", was a term used on more than one occasion before the Task Force to describe the Conservative government's response to the crisis in both urban and rural housing. The Toronto Home Builders Association asked, "where will our children live?" The Co-operative Housing Federation of Nova Scotia told the Task Force that as a result of cuts to co-operative housing, and in the absence of federal leadership, the "co-op program is in danger of extinction, in danger of being wiped out." The Task Force was told that the "deliberate federal cutbacks" were polarizing those that have, and those with nothing.

In Toronto, 25 percent of tenant households pay more than half of their income for rent. In New Brunswick, 10,000 families wait for subsidized housing units which they can afford. In Montreal, 14,000 people are on waiting lists for public housing and a further 8,000 families are on waiting lists for co-operative or non-profit housing.

Based upon 1985 data, the government estimates that 1.3 million households are in "core housing need"; that is, they cannot afford decent, adequate housing without paying more than 30 percent of their income. The Task Force was told that nearly 40 percent of all single parents are in core need; 30 percent of non-attached, non-elderly single persons are in core need; and despite years of declining poverty rates, nearly 40 percent of unattached seniors live in core need.

Canada is largely a nation of homeowners; about 62 percent of households own their own homes. With the baby-boom generation centred in the age groups having the highest incidence of homeownership, it is likely that the market for new housing will continue to focus on ownership forms of housing for at least the next couple of decades. In 1986, the housing industry generated approximately one million person-years of employment and a total output of nearly $32 billion. Almost two-thirds of this activity was related to single-family homes.

Under this government, housing costs in many urban areas have skyrocketed. In 1985, the average resale home in Toronto cost $109,093. In the first quarter of 1990, the comparable cost was $266,220; an increase of nearly 150 percent. During the same period, prices in Montreal increased by about 50 percent. Housing in Toronto and Vancouver is no longer accessible to moderate- and middle-income families. In fact, with an average resale price of $240,335 in Vancouver in the last quarter, Toronto is being rivalled as the high-home-cost capital of Canada.

The average price of a new home in Canada is expected to reach $151,900 this year. This means that the average Canadian family will need an annual income of $65,000 or more to realize the dream of home ownership. Yet, the average family income is less than $50,000 annually. In many urban centres, the average family must devote 50, 60 and even 70 percent of household income to afford a home.

The 1986 Census identifies 1.2 million tenant households in Canada paying over 30 percent of income for shelter costs including 566,875 households that paid more than half of their income on rent. In Montreal alone, the Census identified 112,805 tenant households or nearly 20 percent of the total number of such households paying more than 50 percent of their income on shelter costs. The supply of affordable rental units has been dramatically reduced in most urban centres in recent years. As rooming houses are closed or converted to condominiums and downtown neighbourhoods undergo the process of gentrification, the poor are forced to move. At the same time, private developers are concentrating almost exclusively on the middle to high ends of the market.

Overall, rental apartments represented just 17 percent of total dwelling starts across Canada in 1988, in communities with populations exceeding 10,000. New private rental construction has virtually disappeared in some centres. All of this is occurring at a time when the federal government is restricting its own role in the production of affordable housing.

The starkest manifestation of the failure of Conservative housing policy is the growing number of homeless persons in Canada. Rough estimates put the number of homeless at between 130,000 and 250,000 persons; the greater number representing one percent of the Canadian population. In a cruel twist, the homeless are said to be the "product of prosperity". Roughly 60 percent of the homeless are middle-aged and a majority are men. Tragic and moving stories were told to the Task Force of the increasing numbers of women and young people joining the ranks of the homeless.

And what of the Conservative government's response to the crisis? Since 1984, the primary goal of Conservative housing policy has been to cut the deficit. In the first economic policy statement of the new government in November of 1984, the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP) was cut by $29.4 million and the social housing budget was cut by $9.6 million. RRAP would be cut in half by 1986, and during the same period, total grants and contributions from CMHC would fall by $400 million on an annual basis.

And the cuts continue. The 1989 Budget saw the elimination of the rental component of RRAP and further cuts to the Federal Co-operative Housing Program. Funding for co-ops was cut to 1986 levels, with adjustments for inflation; from $7.8 million to $5.5 million. The cuts have been devastating to the co-operative movement. Since 1985, the production of co-operative housing has fallen from 4,748 units to 2,040 in 1989. The most recent federal budget will cut $165 million from the social housing budget of CMHC over the next five years. The Task Force was told that the cuts are not only depriving families of urgently needed housing but are also destroying the effectiveness of valuable community resource groups.

Aboriginal housing conditions have worsened since the Conservatives took office, as budgets have been frozen at pre-1985 levels. The government has made no provision whatsoever for thousands of Natives who will be re-instated as a result of recent federal legislation.

The following statement was echoed across the country:

> Saint John depends on government social housing programs. The private sector is unable to provide housing that is within the financial grasp of one-quarter of our population. The rental RRAP, co-op housing and non-profit housing programs have been the City's lifeline...Saint John's social housing lifeline fell apart in 1989...Now what is the City to do when we are faced with still thousands of households, families and single people, who need immediate housing assistance and with a housing stock which continues to decay?
>
> Ms. Monica Chaperlin
> Housing Alternatives Inc.
> Moncton, New Brunswick
> October 10, 1989

Other Conservative initiatives will work at cross purposes to resolving the affordability crisis in Canada. The Task Force was deluged with criticisms of the proposed Goods and Services Tax (GST). The GST will exacerbate existing obstacles to both home ownership and affordable rental units in those urban areas already struggling.

Since his appointment as Minister of State (Housing), Alan Redway has mused about a series of initiatives to reduce the obstacles to home ownership and increase the supply of affordable housing. In addition to suggesting 5 percent downpayments, Redway has talked of a plan to help parents save for their children's home and re-instating a measure cancelled by the Conservatives in 1985, the Registered Home Ownership Savings Plan. Redway has indicated a desire to examine the introduction of "building societies" -- banks which specialize in home financing -- to provide mortgage money at attractive rates. The housing minister speaks approvingly of linking low-cost financing to inexpensive homes as an incentive to build starter homes. Finally, he is in favour of a renewed federal role in funding municipal infrastructure relating to housing developments and recognizes the need to make Crown lands available for affordable housing. In the past year, some federal land has been released for housing development but it is unclear whether a significant amount of affordable housing will materialize as a result of these developments. In all other cases, Mr. Redway's record is less than inspiring.

The federal role in housing must be revitalized if progress is to be made in resolving the current crisis. The Liberal Task Force on Housing was established to seek out potential solutions to this crisis and to listen to those that the Mulroney government has so far ignored.

II. ADEQUATE SHELTER: A Fundamental Human Right

> Shelter is a basic human need - in our climate a matter of life and death. In more prosaic terms, adequate and secure housing is a fundamental requirement for acceptable levels of health and comfort, for normal family life, and for ensuring that all New Brunswickers can access and contribute to the social and economic life of the Province. We believe that the federal government should acknowledge decent, affordable housing to be a basic right for all Canadians.
>
> Habitation New Brunswick
> Moncton, New Brunswick
> October 10, 1989

Towards Defining Rights

The unique distinguishing feature of a genuine democracy is the rights and freedoms that its inhabitants share, a feature Canada shares with other democracies. Individual rights are the cornerstone of our system of government and adherence to such rights is crucial to maintaining a healthy, tolerant society. In the words of well known Canadian political scientist, Donald V. Smiley:

> "The protection of human rights is the final end of government and the degree to which human rights are safeguarded is the final test by which any polity should be judged."

A right can best be described as a claim or advantage possessed by a person (individual rights) or persons (collective rights), which is conferred or protected by law and implies a corresponding duty or responsibility on the part of the other. The relationship between right and duty is fundamental to the democratic state: for example, an individual has a "right" to an education until a certain age and there is a corresponding duty on the part of the state or some other authority to provide that education.

It should also be noted that the particular rights being claimed or established by societies change over time. Prevailing attitudes towards rights and their ranking in importance change; new rights are demanded and recognized in law. There can be various opinions in society over the relative values which should be given to certain rights and how to resolve conflicting claims to rights. In Canada, aboriginal rights, mobility rights and the rights of the handicapped have

recently been given increased emphasis. All of these discussions have taken place within the vibrant healthy democracy which is Canada. Arguments to establish new rights, protected in the Constitution, are part of the evolution of our country and its constitution.

Towards Housing as a Right

(i) Rights and Obligations Placed on Government

As we begin the 1990s, can we say that Canadians should have a constitutionally guaranteed right to housing? How could such a right be phrased? Would it be contained in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms? How would it be enforced?

Rights as we know them, certainly the majority of those set out in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, are "negative" rights. People or the State are to refrain from interfering with one's right to speak. In other cases, people are to refrain from aggressive behaviour that interferes with another's freedom of movement. There are no positive obligations on the State.

This has been the situation with respect to rights from early time. However, since the middle of the Great Depression and particularly from the end of World War II, we have moved into an era where government decides not only that certain rights are available but also undertakes an obligation to provide the means whereby the rights may be enjoyed. In Canada, the most obvious example of those types of rights and corresponding obligations can be seen with respect to minority language rights, health care and education.

The Task Force believes that it is a healthy sign in a democracy for new rights to be created. It is therefore not unusual at this time in our history to have positive rights creating a State or government obligation. The question then becomes how best can a right to housing, or even to shelter, be expressed.

(ii) International Covenants and Housing Rights

In order to find a definition and legal description of housing rights, it is instructive to look at specific international covenants to which Canada is a signatory. These covenants are also significant in that they highlight the fact that Canada, as a member of the international community, has

recognized the universal need for a rights declaration dealing with adequate housing.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948, made the first explicit reference to housing as a fundamental human right. Article 25(1) states:

> Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care, and necessary social services.

Future international declarations on the implementation of housing rights would include emphasis on the physical structure such as the provision of drinking water, sewer facilities, access to credit, land and building materials as well as the de jure recognition of security of tenure and other related issues.

Thus the process of recognizing human rights began forty years ago. The rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration became binding obligations in 1966. Article 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights expanded on Article 25(1) of the Universal Declaration. It further codified the right to housing by stating:

> The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing, and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions.

Though Canada is a signatory to these international covenants, some of the matters contained in them, such as housing, tend still to be looked upon only as worthy goals of social and economic policy rather than legally enforceable rights.

In 1987, the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless, the United Nations spoke of the right of all individuals to:

> a real home...one which provides protection from the elements;has access to safe water and sanitation; provides for secure tenure and personal safety; is within easy reach of centres for employment, education and health care; and is at a cost which people and society can afford.

Current building codes and similar legal guarantees in Canada address questions such as structural soundness, the provision of clean water and the adequacy of sanitation facilities among other matters, and provide legal avenues for redress.

The Task Force also recognizes that there are provincial anti-discrimination laws in effect regarding housing. However, they do not provide any protection from discrimination on the basis of income. It is a fact of life in Canada that people are routinely denied access to adequate housing simply because they have low incomes or no credit rating. Housing Help of Ottawa told the Task Force that:

> Discrimination due to inadequate income and social prejudice is widespread against disadvantaged groups (including low-income families, families with children, social assistance recipients, visible minorities, women, disabled persons and Native people). This greatly increases their difficulty in finding adequate housing.

The Task Force believes that those searching for adequate, affordable housing may be better served by giving them some form of constitutionally guaranteed right to shelter. This would help them combat the weak or inadequate anti-discrimination laws as well as make governments face, and begin to resolve the desperate shortage of adequate, affordable housing. This constitutional guarantee would force governments to deal in a positive manner with these problems or be subject to legal claims brought forward by those disadvantaged by a lack of access to adequate housing.

Constitutional Recognition of the Right to Adequate Shelter

Our market housing system has not responded adequately to all of society's needs. Canadians living in poverty do not generate market demand nor in many cases, can they pay market rents. In fact, the gap between those who can afford housing and those who cannot has widened significantly in the past five years. Access to adequate, affordable housing is more than ever determined by economic status.

The Task Force believes that housing is a fundamental human right: all Canadians have the right to decent housing, in decent surroundings, at affordable prices. Shelter is a necessity of life and adequate shelter must be viewed as both an individual and collective right for all Canadians. Such a right

would impose an obligation on governments and therefore make them accountable to their citizens to create the conditions necessary to ensure an adequate supply of shelter.

The Task Force recognizes that many people have advocated the inclusion of property rights in the Constitution. The right to shelter is much more specific and narrow than a "right to the enjoyment of property". The Task Force believes it is necessary to be specific so that the primary objective will be accomplished. The inclusion of a housing right within the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, however, does not inhibit or prevent the addition of the recognition of property rights in the Charter at some future time.

Based upon the evidence of the current situation, the Task Force does not believe that it is sufficient for Canadians to be guaranteed equality of access to existing housing under various provincial and federal human rights codes. We must go farther and recognize the necessity to provide sufficient adequate shelter so that those in need are provided with units that they may occupy and at a price that they can afford. This objective may be assisted by guaranteeing housing as a Charter Right. This perspective is shared by many of the groups which appeared before the Task Force including the Social Planning Councils of Metropolitan Toronto and Ottawa-Carleton, the Housing Concerns Group of Winnipeg, the Saint John Housing Coalition, the Affordable Housing Action Group of Ontario, the Canadian Housing and Renewal Association and the Co-operative Housing Federation of Canada.

Obviously, such a right cannot be included in the Constitution without provincial consent. At the same time, it is vital that the concept of shelter be defined in the context of the Constitution and that this definition reflect a social concensus on this matter.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government place the issue of shelter rights on the list of items to be discussed at the next First Minister's Conference.

III. HOUSING: The Cause of and... a Potential Solution to Poverty in Canada

> For most of us Canadians, life without a home is almost beyond imagining. What you have essentially is what you can carry in your Sobey's bag...it reduces them to another level of existence. Everyday the homeless need to find a way to put food in their bellies or survive another night. They are regularly assaulted and if you are young, regularly raped. They are utterly and completely alone, vulnerable, powerless. They are nobodies -- they are nameless -- voiceless. What you and I should imagine is what it would be like to lose absolutely everything, so that you do not even have someone to call up.
>
> Father Peter McKenna, SCJ
> Hope Cottage
> Halifax, Nova Scotia
> October 5, 1989

Homelessness is only the most visible manifestation of Canada's housing crisis. Though homelessness affects a relatively small percentage of Canadians, it is a reality which is symptomatic of a broader crisis in the supply of affordable housing. More than a million households -- low-income families, the working poor, single-parent families, minorities and the elderly -- and special needs groups -- ex-psychiatric patients, ex-offenders, the physically and mentally handicapped, substance abusers, youth and battered women -- suffer affordability and sub-standard housing problems. The Task Force was told that though affordable housing is in desperately short supply across the country, the major contributing factor to the current crisis is poverty. Substandard housing is often the most visible result of poverty in Canada. Millions of Canadians live in poverty and struggle from month to month simply to pay the rent. Homeownership for low- and moderate-income Canadian families has become a fanciful dream.

> The following remarks were echoed across the country.
>
> The main cause of the housing crisis in Canada is poverty. Poor Canadians are forced to choose between paying the rent and feeding their family. The first line of attack on the housing problem is assuring a decent income for all Canadians. The second is a much stronger government commitment to increasing the supply of low-cost housing.
>
> Mr. Terrence Hunsley, Executive Director
> Canadian Council on Social Development
> Ottawa
> October 16, 1989

The scars of poverty cut particularly deeply into children: poor kids do not have the opportunity to play minor hockey, join the community swimming club or take tennis and piano lessons. In Canadian society, a home allows for the development of family life and full integration into the life of a community. Poverty breeds insecurity, despair and frustration, in addition to a host of other social ills. In Winnipeg, the Task Force was told:

> The stock is old, community services and amenities are lacking, affordability and crowding problems are common and the environment has little to provide the quality of life necessary to reduce other problems such as crime, drug abuse, child abuse and alienation often associated with areas of poor housing...Providing better housing will not automatically eliminate these problems. However, an adequate housing environment will certainly help families cope with the poverty and alienation they often face.
>
> Dr. Tom Carter
> Institute of Urban Affairs, University of Winnipeg
> Winnipeg, Manitoba
> September 6, 1989

A large proportion of family income goes towards housing costs; more so for the poor. Poor people have little choice with respect to housing. They are forced to stay in inadequate housing or to accept whatever is available. Provincial social assistance levels and minimum wages are not high enough to pull individuals and families out of poverty, thus allowing the luxury of choice in the housing market. Both sources of income are particularly inadequate for those who rent in the private market. A study of Ontario social assistance recipients in 1987 found that 90 percent of those who rent in private markets paid rents in excess of the implied shelter component of allowances. This figure stands in stark contrast to that of social assistance recipients living in social housing in comparable situations; just five percent are forced to pay rents in excess of their shelter allowances.

The increasing numbers of people dependent upon food banks in major urban centres -- 180 communities in Canada have food banks -- is directly linked to the high cost of shelter. In a special report, The Kids Are Hungry, released in March, 1989, the Daily Bread Food Bank of Toronto estimated that 72,000 children and their families in the Metro area found it necessary to use food banks at least three times in the previous year. As a result, one in seven children in Toronto can be said to come from a "food bank family".

The report also found that 59 percent of these children live in private rental housing and most of their families pay more than they can afford for rent. The report concludes that, "the growing cost of rental accomodation is one of the prime causes of this situation. Families with young children appear to be among those most severely affected."

In November of last year, the Canadian Association of Food Banks released a report entitled, Canadian Hungercount 1989. The report found that 378,000 different people per month use food banks in this country; 151,000 or 40 percent of the food recipients are children. On an annual basis, Hungercount estimates that 1.4 million Canadians including 566,000 children, use food banks. The report also found that 72 percent of those forced to use food banks receive provincial or municipal social assistance. Another 15 percent of food bank recipients depend upon unemployment insurance, old age pensions and disability pensions for their income.

Among several conclusions, the report states:

> The consistency of need for food relief across the country shows that hunger should be regarded as a serious national health, social and economic problem...Children are at a disportionate risk of hunger, a fact which is compounded by their vulnerability to the health implications of that condition.

Poor housing is a threat to health and the quality of life that most Canadians take for granted, particularly among children and senior citizens. The link between housing and health status has been well established. In a review of community-based literature on health inequities, the National Anti-Poverty Organization reported that:

> almost all poor people are likely to live in homes that cost too much and that threaten their health. Incomes from social assistance, minimum-wage or part-time jobs, or social insurance programs, are not high enough to let families rent apartments that are adequate...Poor cooking and bathing facilities make it difficult or impossible for families to care for their health. The neighbourhoods that do have affordable housing often have a lot of street traffic, pollution and crime. They often don't have space for children to play. These factors lead to accidents, stress, illness and violence.

Professor Alex Murray of York University pointed out to the Task Force that while the vast majority of poor Canadians

live in private rental units, the federal focus is exclusively on non-profit and co-operative forms of housing. In addition, the Task Force was told by representatives of the building industry from every part of the country that private rental construction was, in many cases, no longer viable. In many respects, the housing crisis is a crisis of the private rental sector. Federal policies must be developed to ensure that small private landlords can continue to operate in the marketplace.

Professor David Hulchanski, Director of the Centre for Human Settlements at the University of British Columbia told the Task Force bluntly that the private rental market in Vancouver had moved beyond the crisis point. In notes presented to the Task Force, Professor Hulchanski states:

> The problem is not a lack of demand -- there is plenty of demand for rental units. It is a lack of effective market demand: tenants simply cannot or will not pay the rents required to make private supply of rental stock economical...In sum, there is very little reason for believing or hoping that unsubsidized private sector supply of rental units will be viable again. There is market failure in the private rental sector.

Consistent with the shortage of affordable housing in the private market, the demand for social housing far exceeds the supply. Clearly then, any solutions must address both social housing and the need to revitalize the private rental market. As well, it is not enough to say that the solution lies only in the construction of new affordable units. Individuals and families need assistance now and cannot wait the several years which would be necessary to construct the number of units which are required. A solution cannot be reached without first examining the effects of inadequate income.

There is strong statistical and anecdotal evidence that an individuals' quality of life is largely determined by ones' housing situation. The Task Force has found direct and indirect linkages between the adequacy and affordability of housing and factors such as poor health, hunger, chronic unemployment and educuational levels of attainment. Throughout this century, successive governments have attempted to deal with these problems through a myriad of social programs. Great strides have been made in the battle against poverty and unequal access to medical care and equal opportunities in the workplace. But a significant number of Canadians continue to find the deck stacked against them.

While convinced that the present social safety net must be maintained and improved, the Task Force believes that as

a new century dawns, the federal government should re-evaluate the efficiency and efficacy of the the present safety net, in the context of rapidly changing social and economic conditions. An argument can be made that once an individuals' or families' housing situation has been stabilized, many other problems lend themselves to easier solutions. For instance, a stable home life is conducive to a childs' regular attendance at school and that chids' concentration on their studies. A stable home would open up new employment opportunites as energies previously devoted to keeping body and soul together can be channelled into the workplace. Stable homes build solid communities and improve the quality of life for all Canadians.

Programs such as education, training and social assistance are meaningless without adequate housing. In many provinces, an individual cannot receive social assistance without a fixed address. It is ridiculous to assume that an individual can retrain for a new job if three-quarters of their income is going rent and there is not enough left over to ensure a proper diet. In this context, the time has arrived to make housing the cornerstone of federal social policy in this country. This is not to suggest that the federal government abandon its traditional commitment to the poor, the sick and the elderly. Rather, it is a recognition of the positive impact the provision of affordable housing can have on the quality of life, in the broadest sense for a family which currently lacks such security.

> The fact that the cost of housing is outpacing incomes, particularly in Canada's urban centres is a serious public policy problem, and is having serious ramifications on thousands of families and individuals lacking the security of a home they can afford. It is too big a problem to be solved through housing programs alone.
>
> Mr. Bob Player, President
> Canadian Housing and Renewal Association
> Ottawa
> October 16, 1989

The Task Force recognizes that increased incomes alone will not solve the housing crisis. But in the short term, additional income will afford families and individuals greater choice in housing markets and alleviate the cash squeeze which necessitates visits to food banks and soup kitchens. Indeed, this has been the experience to some degree in Ontario in the wake of social assistance reforms in the past year which have increased the level of benefits. While outside the normal purview of the Task Force, this issue is not one that can be

ignored. In addition, the Task Force is reluctant to recommend policy actions which financially affect other levels of government. Again, this matter cannot be ignored.

The Task Force believes that the government must pursue two avenues of income security reform: the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP), and a new program of income supplementation for the working poor. The CAP ceilings announced in the 1990 Budget reflect a callous and indifferent attitude towards the poor of this country and towards the vital need for social assistance reform in Canada. This ceiling will effectively limit the extent of reform in those provinces directly affected and sends a negative signal to other provinces contemplating reforms.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force urges the Conservative government to lift the CAP ceilings announced in the 1990 Budget. Further, that negotiations be initiated with the provinces, in the context of CAP, to increase the implicit shelter component of provincial social assistance allowances.

At the same time, it is imperative that federal attention be turned as well to the needs of the working poor. More than half of all poor families in Canada are headed by a parent who works at least part of the year. Yet there are no programs which provide incentives to work. Ironically, welfare recipients who take a job are often financially worse off as a result, due to the loss of various benefits.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government initiate consultations and negotiations with the provinces to establish a new social program which provides an income supplement for workers whose earnings from employment leaves them below the poverty line. This program should: be built upon existing provincial income supplementation programs; be national in scope and cost-shared by federal and provincial governments; support the work ethic; vary the amount of supplement depending on the number of children in the family; and complement existing social programs and initiatives recommended by this report.

Homelessness is a complex, multi-causality social issue. The Task Force was told that the travails the homeless endure are "the product of prosperity". The homeless in Canada

come from all social and economic backgrounds and suffer a host of problems including mental illness, physical disabilities and other health problems. Many of the homeless require not only a stable home but also varying levels of support services. The stereotypical homeless individual is the middle-aged alcoholic male. The reports that the Task Force received from those on the front lines shattered this perception. Increasing numbers of young people are becoming homeless as they flee physical or sexual abuse in the family home. The Task Force was particularly troubled by the plight of homeless women, who are subjected to abuse and violence on the streets as violent as the stituation they have escaped but have precious few places to turn to for help. A federal policy response must recognize the different groups among the homeless and the factors which contribute to homelessness such as; reduced federal housing subsidies and the NIMBY syndrome which hampers the development of affordable housing and special needs housing; and neighbourhood gentrification.

Many of the recommendations proposed in this report will substantially improve the supply of affordable housing in Canada and thus, address the housing side of homelessness. It is vital though that the federal government recognize that four walls and a roof do not constitute a home. The Task Force believes that permanent housing must be the ultimate goal but recognizes that temporary shelters and transitional housing units are urgently required.

Solutions must be framed in the context of achieving independence and integration for the individual. It is necessary then that the problems of the homeless be addressed in a broad, comprehensive fashion which incorporates a range of community support services.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government immediately convene a National Conference on the Homeless with participation from all levels of government, the non-profit sector and the private sector to set real objectives and policy responses for the eradication of homelessness in Canada. It is vital that the homeless play a significant role in this process. As well, the federal government must initiate discussions with provincial Ministries of Health and/or Community and Social Services to ensure that the immediate and long-term needs of the homeless are addressed.

The goals of decent, affordable housing cannot be achieved by any sector acting alone. Housing and shelter are considered in Canada to be fundamental to people's social

well-being and therefore, are the responsibility of both the public and private sector. Federal housing policies must recognize that the market will not provide for all the housing needs of Canadians. In designing programs to meet the needs of disadvantaged Canadians, it is vital that the non-profit sector not be seen as a threat to the private sector.

The federal role in housing must not be a residual one. The connection between housing and other aspects of both social and economic policy means that the federal government must take a lead role. Only the federal government has the power to equalize access to housing. If this responsibility is to be taken seriously, then a wide range of policy instruments are required. The Task Force does not believe that the federal response to the housing crisis can be compartmentalized into distinct solutions pertaining to housing, health or income security.

The Task Force heard condemnations of Conservative housing budget cuts, from coast to coast. Particularly devastated were those representing the co-operative housing movement and representatives of municipal governments concerned about cuts to the Rental RRAP in the 1989 Budget. The Conservative housing record since 1984 can politely be termed one of quiet strangulation. The Canadian Housing and Renewal Association has provided figures to the Task Force which show that from 1980 to 1984, federal housing expenditures represented, on average, 1.68 percent of the annual federal budget. Under the Conservatives, this figure has shrunk to an annual average of 1.37 percent of federal expenditures -- a difference of 0.31 percent. This represents more than $400 million in annual expenditures.

The 1989 cuts to Rental RRAP threaten the marginal housing available to thousands of low-income individuals. Cuts to the Federal Co-operative Housing Program in the same Budget threatened in the words of the Co-operative Housing Federation of Nova Scotia, to "wipe out the co-operative housing program" in that province. Cuts totalling $165 million over the next five years in CMHCs' social housing funds announced in the February, 1990 Budget will further hobble the non-profit sector in Canada. The Liberal Election Platform of 1988 contained a pledge to increase the production of non-profit housing to a level of 40,000 units annually. This objective must be met if all Canadians are to be adequately housed.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government reinstate the funds cut in April, 1989 from the

rental component of the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program. In addition, new guidelines must be presented to ensure that the mandate of this program is unquestionably to assist in the provision of affordable rental accommodations for needy Canadians.

> I have been seeing more and more disabled people having to turn to family or service clubs (Lions, Kinsmen, etc.) in order to make home modifications fo a disabled family member. This is directly related to the fact that many people currently fall into the gap where they are not eligible for assistance, yet they are not able to afford renovation costs...A well thought out program could assist in integrating more and more disabled people into the community. The focus on integration as opposed to institutionalization is widely accepted as a healthy way to improve the quality of life of disabled people as well as improve the public's perception of disabled people.
>
> Greg Winmill, Canadian Paraplegic Association
> Winnipeg, Manitoba
> September 6, 1989

Disabled persons often experience great difficulties in finding adequate housing in the private market. The Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program for disabled persons is an attempt to help individuals renovate their own homes to ensure accessibility. At the present time, RRAP for the disabled provides up to $10,000 including a forgiveable loan for up to $5,000 for such renovations. Disabled homeowners are eligible for assistance in the form of partial loan forgiveness if their gross family income falls below $33,000; if gross family income is less than $13,000 annually, the loan is forgiven in total.

The Task Force believes that the financial parameters of this program are totally unrealistic. Obviously, the maximum assistance level will hardly provide for the construction of an entrance ramp, the widening of a few doors and the relocation of some electrical fixtures. This level of funding will not allow for the construction of an additional bedroom or washroom. As well, the program does not allow for new construction. Finally, the gross family income ceiling is ridiculously low and effectively eliminates disabled homeowners in most Canadian urban areas. If Canadians truly support full integration of the disabled into all aspects of community life, the program criteria must be improved.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government immediately commence a review of the disabled persons component of the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program with a view to improving accessibility criteria. Further, that CMHC examine the feasibility of basing assistance upon the individual's degree of disability as opposed to a strict definition of income, within reason.

The Task Force heard impassioned presentations from co-operative housing advocates and residents from Vancouver to Halifax. The co-operative housing movement is a vital component in the quest to ensure decent, affordable housing with security of tenure for all Canadians. Yet, the Conservative government has never allowed the Federal Co-operative Housing Program to reach its full potential. In spite of a promised commitment of 5,000 units in 1986, this objective has never been attained. In 1989, federal commitments resulted in the construction of less than 2,100 new units. While spared further cuts in the 1990 Budget, the entire federal commitment is currently under review.

The Task Force is convinced that this housing option works and provides low- and moderate-income Canadians with a tremendous alternative to traditional forms of social housing and the private market. The co-operative housing community truly represents one of the finest examples of Canadians working together to achieve common goals in the improvement of their own living conditions, those of their fellow citizens and indeed, of their communities.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force recommends that funding for the Federal Co-operative Housing program and the Rent Supplement Program be increased to allow for the construction of 5,000 new co-operative housing units annually. Further, it is suggested that a formal consultative mechanism be established with the Co-operative Housing Federation of Canada with respect to the disposition of surplus federal lands. Finally, the Task Force recommends that the Conservative government use the current evaluation of the Federal Co-operative Housing Program to examine new possibilities for co-operative housing in Canada.

Material, labour and other home construction costs are generally the same across Canada. It is the land cost which is placing the price of housing beyond the reach of many Canadians. High land costs have not only prevented middle-income families in major urban centres, particularly

Toronto and Vancouver, from purchasing their own homes but also thrown an insurmountable obstacle in the way of non-profit and co-operative housing groups which are striving to provide housing for low- and moderate-income Canadians.

The Task Force is convinced that measures must be found to moderate the impact of excessive land costs on the production of affordable housing. An appropriate place to start is with the land holdings of the federal government -- the country's largest landholder. The Task Force was told on several occasions that the availability of reasonably-priced land was one of the greatest concerns of those, in both the public and private sector, who seek to provide affordable housing for Canadians. High land costs also limit the effectiveness of federal housing dollars by reducing the number of units which can be constructed within the current Maximum Unit Price structure. The Task Force believes that it is crucial that the federal government make more Crown lands available for the construction of affordable housing.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government amend Treasury Board regulations which require that Crown lands be disposed of at market prices and that federal departments, Crown corporations and agencies be required to identify land parcels, buildings and facilities surplus to their needs. Surplus Crown lands should be made available, on a priority basis, to public and private non-profit and co-operative housing companies, associations and groups. The government should explore the feasibility of leasing Crown lands to assist in the production of affordable housing. Further, that a comprehensive policy for the disposition of these lands be implemented including mechanisms to facilitate the involvement of private sector developers and municipalities in the production of affordable housing.

> Having a safe place to go is probably one of the most critical needs for all of us. When our home life is threatened most of us lose our stability. For many people with significant mental health problems, loss of housing is a frequent occurrence... We found people need more than just a pleasant physical surrounding with warm and caring people. Individuals with significant mental health problems also need assistance in developing the skills and supports so that they may feel both satisfied and successful in the living arrangement.
>
> Susan Chipperfield, Canadian Mental Health Association
> Winnipeg, Manitoba
> September 6, 1989

The physically disabled are not alone in experiencing difficulties in finding adequate affordable housing. The Task Force was told of the urgent need to develop supportive housing for those with psychiatric problems. It is important that housing be considered an intregal component of therapy as other aspects of treatment may be fruitless in view of unstable housing situations. Housing models should emphasize the independence of the individual and reflect the distinct needs of each person.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government ensure that an adequate supply of affordable housing units be made available under the amalgam of programs administered by the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation for individuals with special needs. The location and design of units supported by CMHC must not prevent or discourage occupants from seeking or receiving rehabilitative and clinical services.

The allocation of federal housing resources is based upon an agreement reached in 1985 among the provinces known as the Regina Accord. The Accord allocates federal funds according to three seperate formulae; one for the Urban Native program, one for RRAP and a third for all other programs. The Accord provides no guarantees as to the total number of units which will be funded in a particular province in a specific year. Though in place for the past five years, the Regina Accord was intended to be an interim measure.

The Task Force was informed that this interim national allocation formula was penalizing those provinces which are able to deliver units at a lower cost. The Minister of Housing for the Province of New Brunswick, Hon. Peter Trites, told the Task Force in Moncton that:

> the present mechanism for allocating federal budget dollars has been designed in such a manner that provinces like New Brunswick are losing budget dollars to those provinces where delivery costs are rising more rapidly. Essentially, this means that New Brunswick will not be in a position to deliver a full range of cost-shared housing programs without reducing the number of units to be delivered.

Mr. Trites called the combination of this federal allocation formula and Budget cuts to social housing, "both frightening and inequitable" and "holds the province hostage to external costs outside its control." While there may be no change in the level of need within a particular province from

year to year, that province may still suffer a reduction in the amount of federal funding it receives if developments in other provinces reduces its' share of the national need. The Task Force shares Mr. Trite's concerns with respect to the national allocation formula and the detrimental impact its continuance has on the less populous provinces.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force urges the Minister of State (Housing) to expedite the development of a new national allocation formula which minimizes the year to year funding reductions a province may incur.

IV. HOMEOWNERSHIP: Affordable Financing Required

Whether the housing unit is on the private market or is a non-profit or co-operative unit, financing is a critical determinant of affordability. The Task Force heard time after time from home builders and non-profit groups alike, that high interest rates were causing immense damage. In January 1990, mortgage interest rates were about 12 percent. Currently, they are in excess of 14 percent. Throughout the country, financing costs are more often the primary determinant of whether a young family can afford a new home. An increase of one percentage point between 9 and 14 percent in mortgage interest rates eliminates 100,000 potential first-time homebuyers. Affordability problems are no longer the exclusive domain of the homeless and the poor in Canada.

The Royal Bank of Canada publishes a quarterly Housing Affordability Index which measures the proportion of median pre-tax household income required to carry mortgage costs, property taxes and utilities for a detached bungalow. In the fourth quarter of 1989, the affordability index for Vancouver stood at 67 percent; the median household spent 67 percent of its income on housing costs. The corresponding figures for Toronto and Montreal are 64 percent and 48 percent respectively. The national average was 41 percent.

The average Canadian family could not afford these prices as most lending institutions will not approve mortgages which exceed 30 percent of pre-tax income. The Royal Bank estimates that to afford this home purchase in Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal, the average household would have to earn a minimum of $70,000, $84,000 and $46,000, respectively. In no region did the Affordability Index fall below 35 percent. Looking back to 1989, housing affordability, as measured by the Royal Bank, worsened in Quebec, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia and stabilized in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and the Atlantic provinces. It is likely that housing affordability has deteriorated in the first part of this year. While demand has dropped in major centres with the exception of Calgary and Edmonton, prices have remained relatively stable. At the same time, mortgage interest rates have continued their upward climb.

Of the 500,000 tenant households in Metropolitan Toronto, some 372,000 households can, by virtue of the age of the household head, be considered potential first-time home buyers. The top two quintiles of this group have annual household incomes in excess of $45,000, and $33,000 to $45,000, respectively. Not poor by any stretch of the imagination. Yet only four percent of these potential first-time homebuyers could afford to buy a $200,000 home: the average resale home price in Toronto in 1989 was more than $270,000.

Granted, the situation is much worse in Southern Ontario and the lower mainland of British Columbia than in the rest of the country, but in every part of Canada, more and more young families are being frozen out of the housing market. This situation cannot be tolerated any longer. Driven up by rising land prices, the high cost of housing has been sent through the roof by the costs of mortgage financing. The new home market has virtually collapsed in some parts of the country and the resale market has been weakened as a result of rising interest rates.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force implores the Conservative government to take immediate steps to lower the Bank of Canada prime rate and thus moderate mortgage interest rates.

Affordable homeownership for Canadians must become a top priority of the federal government. It is imperative that the federal government take extraordinary steps now to assist Canadians in saving for a downpayment, to create new financing options for homebuyers and to ensure a stable financial market for mortgage lending.

The Conservative response to this crisis of affordability is to propose initiatives such as the 5 percent downpayment. This proposal is a fraud and does nothing to attack the underpinnings of exorbitant housing prices. In fact, the proposal may have the opposite effect of further exacerbating affordability problems.

In a brief to the Task Force, The Appraisal Institute of Canada stated:

> Reducing the down payment requirement to 5 percent of the sale price will result in an increase in the market value of the property... As a result, instead of assisting first-time home buyers in entering the housing market, this proposal could virtually close the door on affordable housing for this group of Canadians.

The proposal would not make homeownership a more viable option over the long-term for families forced to carry a high debt load.

> The minimum down payment would serve primarily to increase risk, and put highly-leveraged families in a tenuous

> situation where any minor change in their economic circumstances could spell default. Such families would experience an extreme debt load, higher monthly payments and significantly increased interest costs, assuming a lengthy amortization period. ...the 95 percent mortgage could actually make a home less affordable...
>
> Canadian Real Estate Association
> Moncton, New Brunswick
> October 10, 1989

One might assume that financial institutions would applaud this initiative. Not so. The Canadian Banking Association expressed concern about the matter to the Task Force in Toronto, related to the level of risk associated with high ratio mortgages and the absence of any measures to improve the overall affordability of mortgages through a reduction in interest rates. As presented to date by the Minister of State (Housing), the 5 percent downpayment proposal is nothing more than a gimmick. As noted, there are serious difficulties with this proposal which the government must address. Rhetoric of this nature is no alternative to action.

The Task Force is intrigued by proposals which would allow the use of Registered Retirement Savings Plans (RRSP) funds as downpayments for first-time homebuyers.

> When we look at the affordability problem, the biggest single factor is the ability to generate enough surplus income to come up with a down payment for a home. The ability to utilize RRSP funds for that purpose would go a long way to helping thousands of Canadians move into their own home.
>
> Ontario Real Estate Association
> Toronto, Ontario
> August 30, 1989

The Task Force is cognizant of the potential pitfalls which accompany this proposal. It would be irresponsible to advocate this proposal without an intensive cost-benefit analysis which includes: potential impacts on the nation's capital markets; the risk to the individual of losses in retirement savings; its impact upon the development of a truly progressive income tax system; and the precedent in tax policy such a decision would make. Given the positive benefits middle- and moderate-income households would realize from this initiative, the Task Force believes that further study is merited.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government undertake a thorough examination of the proposal of the Canadian Real Estate Association respecting the use of RRSP funds for home purchases, with a consultative process to include representatives from the home building industry, financial institutions and the investment community. Further, the examination should extend beyond RRSP holdings to include other pension/retirement mechanisms.

However, the ability to save the necessary downpayment is only half the battle. Once purchased, the homeowner must confront the frightening task of paying down that mortgage at current rates in excess of 14 percent. As noted earlier in this report, fewer and fewer Canadian families have the financial resources to carry these financing charges.

Speaking in Vancouver in February of 1990, Mr. Gordon Thompson, President of the Canadian Home Builders Association, said:

> It is simply not good enough to continue with a system that makes the financing (mortgaging) of a home dependent on the country's monetary policy. For Canadians a home means security. It does not mean being forced to join international money traders and Bay Street brokers in speculating on weekly changes in the Bank of Canada rate.

Mortgage-Backed Securities (MBS) were launched three years by the present government as a means of developing a longer-term mortgage market. In the not-so-distant past, 25-year mortgages were the norm. While financial institutions today offer the consumer a wide variety of flexible mortgage instruments, a long-term mortgage has become a rarity. The CMHC MBS program has created a substantial pool of residential first mortages and provided important benefits to the non-profit sector. However, the home buying consumer has few options with respect to long-term mortgages.

In 1986, the Index-Linked Mortgage (ILM) instrument was introduced to finance the capital costs of building housing units under the Federal Co-operative Housing Program. This instrument has been particularly effective in reducing and stabilizing the financing costs which must be borne by co-operative housing associations. Both this program and Mortgage-Backed Securities have paid significant dividends to the non-profit and co-operative housing sectors. Initiating new

financial instruments is an essential part of the federal government's role in creating an environment which will see an increasing supply of affordable housing.

There is an urgent need for alternatives to the current system. The time is ripe for the federal government to investigate innovative ideas such as the use of RRSP holdings for the purposes of a downpayment on a home. Similarly, the federal government should explore the application of the ILM principle to individual homeownership. The first-time home buyer is particularly penalized by the affordability crisis. Any measures to improve this situation for home purchasers must pay special attention to the financing needs of the first-time buyer, such as incentives for the construction of starter homes. The federal government must explore and enhance financing arrangements such as MSBs, the ILM and reverse mortgages. Every potential avenue of reform must be examined.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force recommends that Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation in co-operation with the Department of Finance undertake a thorough review of mortgage financing in Canada. This review should pay particular attention to measures such as the Mortgage-Backed Securities Program and other such instruments which work to stabilize and moderate mortgage interest rates. Further, that the review include intensive consultations with the Canadian financial community and the home building industry.

The Task Force is very concerned about the extent of taxation to which the homebuilding industry is subject. The federal government presently taxes housing through the manufacturers sales tax and other excise taxes and will continue to do so under the Goods and Services Tax (GST). In fact, the Mulroney government has broken new ground in this respect as the GST will tax the land that the home sits on. Provincial governments impose land transfer taxes, lot levies and other fees. Municipal and regional governments depend upon property taxes to pay for essential services. The homeowner, and in particular the new home purchaser, is responsible for a tremendous tax burden. This tax burden is increasing at a time when the cost of housing, exacerbated by staggering interest rates, is already at historic highs in many centres.

The federal government can no longer pretend that taxes do not affect housing affordability. It is vital that all levels of government re-assess their housing taxation policies.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force recommends that the Minister of State (Housing) convene a special meeting of his provincial counterparts and the Federation of Canadian Municipalities to review the full range of consequences of housing taxation at all three levels of government. Further, that the federal government give consideration to the total level of taxation on housing prior to any subsequent tax increases at the national level in this area.

This Conservative government has over the course of its mandate, virtually eliminated every market housing program, save the Federal Co-operative Housing Program. Many of these initiatives were applauded by the industry. But the fact remains that a major policy void exists in this area. The Mulroney government professes an interest in providing more affordable housing yet counters with actions such as the GST and a damaging interest rate policy. This government has to make affordable homeownership a priority.

V. FORGING NEW PARTNERSHIPS: The Non-Profit Sector, the Private Sector and Government

The past decade has seen dramatic growth in the resources and the capabilities of the non-profit sector. At the same time, the private sector has developed both new building technologies and innovative financing arrangements. We are now witnessing the fruits of this expansion in both sectors with an expanding number of public-private housing partnerships. These new ventures are still evolving and not all will succeed but the Task Force is convinced that this revolutionary dimension in housing must be encouraged by the national government.

In 1987, the Canadian Housing and Renewal Association (then known as the Canadian Association of Housing and Renewal Officials) gathered 1,500 participants from around the world in Ottawa at a conference in recognition of the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless. The theme of the conference was "New Partnerships -- Building For The Future". This theme reflected the necessity for innovative co-operation between all participants in the housing sector and the development of new mechanisms to resolve housing problems in Canada and indeed, around the world.

The Ontario Non-Profit Housing Association told the Task Force of partnerships that currently exist between their organization and the private sector in the construction of non-profit and co-operative housing. This spirit is further exemplified by the Canadian Real Estate Association (CREA) which sponsored a 1987 symposium on homelessness in Canada. The consensus of that symposium, conveyed to the Task Force, was that partnership was the key to resolving this social blight:

> ...the public sector should not act alone, there must be a new partnership among governments, the private sector, the third sector and the homeless themselves. Each has a role, each has limitations, each must strive to understand and cooperate with the other. There is much creative interaction underway among groups and innovative solutions are being developed.
>
> Canadian Real Estate Association
> Moncton, New Brunswick
> October 10, 1989

This sense of partnership is not only welcome but absolutely essential. A frequent point made to the Task Force was that the federal response must be co-ordinated and reflect the regional character of housing. These objectives will only be achieved through a partnership of the various actors in this sector.

Most witnesses recognized the essential role of the federal government but expressed sentiments similar to the following:

> No other player in the housing sector has the freedom of movement which the three levels of government collectively enjoy...At the same time and for the same reasons, no other player in the housing sector is capable of causing the market-wide chaos which government, especially the federal government, can and does when its activities are unsustained , uncoordinated, unpredictable or inappropriate to local conditions.
>
> Saint John Housing Coalition
> Moncton, New Brunswick
> October 10, 1989

It is vital that the federal role in housing be strengthened both at the political and administrative levels. It is clear that the current Minister has limited influence within Cabinet and few other ministers view housing as a priority. At the same time, it is evident from a detailed reading of the minutes of meetings of CMHC's Board of Directors that officials at the highest levels of the Corporation devote a disportionate amount of time to that part which operates as a financial institution, to the detriment of social housing programs. The social housing mandate of this government must be re-energized. It has been suggested that the establishment of a separate department would focus federal attention. This idea may merit further study.

Clearly, the federal government cannot solve the housing crisis on its own. The non-profit sector has a proven ability to provide cost-effective affordable housing. The private sector has shown that it will meet as much of the demand as possible, given regulatory and cost considerations. In January, 1988, the Toronto Home Builders Association tackled the problems faced by first-time homebuyers and people looking for smaller homes, by organizing a think tank known as the "Charrette on Affordable Homeownership". The Charrette included developers and homebuilders, government officials, planners, financial experts and a host of others involved in the sector. This type of private sector participation is essential if these problems are to be overcome.

Both the Toronto and the Hamilton and District Home Builders' Associations have developed innovative housing formats which reflect the changing needs of Canadian households and which, in the context of those markets, are affordable. While the Hamilton demonstration project, "Charlie", has met with public approval, current zoning restrictions prevent its

construction in that jurisdiction. In their presentation to the Task Force, the Hamilton and District Home Builders' Association placed great emphasis on the following point:

> If the government wishes to be a partner in helping the average consumer to achieve the Canadian dream of homeownership, then it must change the attitudes of -- existing homeowners, municipal councils and provincial ministries who are adverse to accepting higher density options, or innovative housing styles. There must be developed an education process whereby we remove the "Not In My Backyard" mentality. Instead, to use the term "NIMBY" should mean "New Ideas Mean Better Yields".

The Canadian Home Builder's Association and the federal government have for the past decade been involved in a very successful partnership; the development of the R-2000 program. The intent of the program was and continues to be, the development and use of new energy efficient home construction techniques. Borne in the aftermath of the oil price shocks of the 1970s, it may be said that the substance and spirit of the R-2000 program is of greater relevance today. It is vital that the federal government and the housing industry give new impetus to the development of environmentally friendly construction materials and techniques. The spirit of partnership which is evident in the R-2000 program can and must be emulated in respect of other housing issues and concerns.

While recognizing the limitations of the federal government with respect to local zoning by-laws and development regulations, the Task Force believes that a national role exists in other areas which would provide important impetus to the further development of affordable housing. The Task Force refers specifically to an integral role the federal government could play in a national municipal infrastructure upgrading program. This matter must be raised at the national level with the provinces and municipal governments.

The time is past when the federal government can implement one-dimensional policies and strategies which ignore the potential contributions of others in a specific sector. The housing sector is not an exception. This serious problem has been exacerbated by a government which clearly does not place a high priority on resolving the affordability and accessibility difficulties faced by more than one million Canadian households. The strength, dedication and enthusiasm of all those involved in the housing field must be harnessed if truly viable solutions are to be reached. To this end, the national government must act as a catalyst to ensure that partnerships are created and that they endure.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force recommends that the Minister of State (Housing) convene at the earliest possible date, a National Housing Forum to discuss the development of a national housing policy and related stategies such as municipal infrastructure, aimed at alleviating the housing crisis in Canada.

Private sector involvement can also pay important benefits to the neighbourhood revitalization projects which complement attempts to improve the stock of affordable housing.

> The third sector (Co-ops and Non-Profits) has done a commendable job in addressing many housing needs in inner-city areas but to provide the balance and mix necessary the private sector should be playing a greater role. Partnership arrangements with the public and third sectors, assistance with land assembly and development, assistance with marketing, mixed-use developments, incentives to more moderate income households, bonus zoning and a variety of other mechanisms have been used successfully in other jurisdictions.
>
> Dr. Tom Carter, Director
> Institute of Urban Affairs, University of Winnipeg
> Winnipeg, Manitoba
> September 6, 1989

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government take steps necessary to increase the investment of private capital and the use of private sector resources in the provision of affordable housing by encouraging private lenders and developers to participate in public-private partnerships.

The involvement of the public sector includes civic governments which are taking an increasingly active role in the provision of affordable housing and the revitalization of urban neighbourhoods. In the report, Habiter Montreal, the civic government clearly indicates a desire to involve all elements of the housing sector:

> There can be no question of the City of Montreal substituting for other levels of government, the private sector or non-profit organizations. However, by taking the initiative and by mobilizing all of the available forces, the City can help to significantly improve the housing situation of its residents.
>
> City of Montreal
> Montreal, Quebec

The message received by the Task Force from representatives of the cities of Dartmouth, Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg, Regina and Vancouver was that these new partnerships - public, private and non-profit - will not succeed without the active participation and support of the national government.

While municipalities have routinely used municipal by-laws and various incentive options to facilitate and promote such private sector participation, new innovative financial joint ventures are being implemented. Ottawa's non-profit housing corporation, CityLiving, recently announced plans to sell shares in existing subsidized homes in order to fund a 10-year renovation program. Private investors will receive tax benefits in return. Limited partnerships of this type offer new sources of capital to non-profit corporations while maintaining the affordability of the housing units.

Unfortunately, the Conservative government has, through the Minister of Finance, placed a moratorium on the tax measure utilized by CityLiving. Current federal tax policy pays important dividends in creation of new private sector production. Surely, investment in public assets should be accorded the same priority. There are currently 200,000 public housing units in Canada which are nearing the age where significant repairs and renovations will be required.

CityLiving's initiative in this regard would have provided a model for similar projects across the country. The Task Force believes that the federal government should be encouraging these types of initiatives and rather than closing avenues for partnerships, the government should be devoting additional energies to developing new partnership mechanisms.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force urges the Conservative government to begin immediately, a consultation process involving Revenue Canada, the Department of Finance and Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation with a view to developing new community and

housing investment mechanisms which facilitate the construction, acquisition or rehabilitation of affordable housing through public-private and non-profit-private partnerships.

While the private market must continue to provide the vast majority of housing units in Canada, steps must be taken to ensure a supply of houses that will continue to be affordable in the long-term. While the task force is not opposed to increasing property values per se, this inflationary aspect and resultant speculation in the housing market creates insurmountable obstacles to low- and moderate-income Canadians searching for affordable housing. In most cases, it is the value of the land upon which the housing sits that creates the spiral in housing costs.

A form of non-speculative homeownership that offers this form of stability and access is the Community Land Trust (CLT). The idea of the land trust is that residents may own the building they live in - either on an individual or co-operative basis - but that the land the housing sits on is permanently owned by trust. The residents have a long-term secure lease that assigns the rights of ownership to the residents with provisions that prohibit speculation and absentee ownership. The long-term affordability of the housing is preserved by means of a ground lease or deed restrictions. The Task Force believes that the concept of CLTs merits greater consideration.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force recommends that Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation study the concept of Community Land Trusts with a view to determining their efficiency and effectiveness in providing long-term affordable housing.

VI. JUSTICE FOR CANADA'S ABORIGINAL PEOPLES

> The Federal Government has not adequately carried out its trust and fiscal responsibility regarding shelter for Indian people. The history of policy shifts and funding mechanisms leads one to believe that conditions will not change unless serious consideration is given to a long term strategy with input on policy development by Indian people.
>
> Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations
> Regina, Saskatchewan
> September 5, 1989

The most telling effects of an inadequate federal housing policy can be seen in its impact on the health of aboriginal peoples.

> As a result of these (housing) deficiencies, First Nations suffer a higher incidence of death, disease, injury and illness than the general Canadian public.
>
> Assembly of First Nations
> Ottawa, Ontario
> October 16, 1989

While levels of adequate housing vary among reserves, villages and settlements, such problems should not be placed solely in the context of southern aboriginal communities. Indeed, housing problems also plague aboriginal peoples residing both in the North and in urban areas. While substantial progress was made in addressing aboriginal housing deficiencies, during the 1970s and the early years of the 1980s, major problems remained. The Task Force was told on several occasions that the failure to address fully the problems of aboriginal housing contributes to worsening aboriginal social, economic, and political problems.

The Task Force was told that 36 percent of on-reserve houses were overcrowded, 38 percent lacked some or all amenities including basic water and sanitation systems, and 52 percent lacked central heating. The Ontario Council of Chiefs told the Task Force about families living in log homes with mud floors. Studies clearly demonstrate that housing conditions among Status Indians are inferior to those of Canadians in general. Often, conditions resemble those found in the Third World. Living conditions are often little better for aboriginal peoples who live in urban areas.

Aboriginal peoples suffer from high rates of unemployment and have some of the lowest incomes in Canada. Studies indicate that Status Indians pay a higher percentage of income for rent, than that paid by the general population. The amount of income left for food, clothing and utilities is reduced accordingly. The lack of these amenities impacts dramatically on health, educational attainment and on social well-being. The impact on the aboriginal person is no different than that on other Canadians ; the downward spiral of poverty can exert pressures that often lead to alcohol and substance abuse, family violence and transience.

The search for suitable employment is restricted for many aboriginals by a lack of education. The combination of these factors in concert with the blatant discrimination practiced by many landlords severely hampers the ability of aboriginals to find affordable, quality housing in urban areas. In Winnipeg, the Task Force listened to accounts of aboriginal people forced by economic circumstances to live in "slum housing under slum landlords".

The Task Force heard that the housing conditions endured by Canada's aboriginal peoples has been "studied to death". Incredibly, their housing conditions have worsened since the Mulroney government took office. Conservative attacks on funding for education have been matched by shortfalls in funding for housing. The annual federal allocation for on-reserve housing has fallen in real terms over the Mulroney mandate. In addition, the government has refused to act on the following points:

- the rate of supply of new houses on reserves is less than the rate of family formation. This exacerbates problems created by a backlog of approximately 10,000 required new units. In addition, the government has not provided new funds to assist the tens of thousands of individuals to be re-instated under Bill C-31;

- the quality of much of the housing stock on reserves is substandard;

- costs of maintenance, renovation, operation and construction are high and could be lowered;

- few individual Status Indian families have clear title to their own homes, and their rights have not been identified and defined; and

- current housing programs do not maximize community economic benefits from housing construction, operation and maintenance.

The Task Force is aware that a just and comprehensive solution to the problems of aboriginal housing will not be found in a narrow evaluation of existing programs and policies. Aboriginal housing conditions are rooted in the socio-economic condition of the aboriginal in Canada. Therefore, any comprehensive resolution to the problem of aboriginal housing must be prefaced by a concerted effort to resolving fundamental questions of self government, land claims and entitlements including the question of housing as a treaty right. Finding a resolution to these fundamental questions will not be easy. The Task Force recognizes that it is only after these hurdles are cleared that comprehensive and innovative policy alternatives can be fully implemented. In this respect, the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs stated very clearly in Winnipeg:

> While there is some evidence of promises made to Indians with respect to housing in order to entice them to sign the treaties, the Indian Affairs Department will deny that housing is a treaty right. During their operation of the housing program Indian Affairs officials have portrayed a cavalier attitude on the importance of housing to Status Indians. In addition to this, housing concerns have been viewed as policy goals and not a treaty right... The major concern would be the fiduciary obligation of housing as a treaty right. This issue is basic to other discussions and needs to be resolved.

Quite apart from the discussion of housing as a treaty right, there are a number of practical problems with respect to the administration of federal housing programs. The administration of Native housing programs falls within the ambit of two federal entities, the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Further support is provided by Health and Welfare Canada, Employment and Immigration Canada and Energy, Mines and Resources. The division of responsibility for housing has created considerable confusion and disjointedness in program delivery particularly for on-reserve housing. Furthermore, the circumstances under which the programs are delivered creates difficulties in the current centralized milieu; distance, high costs, long lead times, inadequate coordination between funding sources and indeed, the climate of many northern and remote communities.

The Task Force believes it is imperative that the national government reorganize and rationalize program delivery structures. The federal government must give this matter serious consideration in the ongoing consultation process respecting the Rural and Native Housing Program which attempts to address the housing needs of rural low-income off-reserve Native and non-Native households.

The Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations proposed to the Task Force the creation of a single delivery agency which would consolidate the federal activities in Indian housing in that province and ensure direct Band and/or district Chief's Councils participation in the framing of planning, funding and delivery of programs. The Task Force agrees this measure would improve the accountability of both parties throughout the process and facilitate long-range planning and budgeting.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government establish a single federal agency in partnership with the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, for an initial period of five years, to assume complete responsibility for Indian housing in that province. Further, the Task Force recommends that the process be evaluated with a view to implementation on a national scale.

The Task Force believes that there is no immediate alternative resolution to the current on-reserve housing crisis other than that more money be invested in the program. Production must be accelerated if local Bands are to keep pace with new family formations and deal with the backlog of needs while preventing any further deterioration of the existing housing stock.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government set the year 2000 as the target for the elimination of sub-standard on-reserve housing and allocate the necessary funds to accomplish this objective.

Prior to the introduction of the Canadian Job Strategy (CJS), Band Councils were eligible for job creation funding to assist in the construction of homes. The cessation of this funding has limited the resultant benefits to aboriginal workers and their communities. Increased assistance for training and employment would provide important benefits with respect to the development of local housing enterprises.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force recommends that CJS criteria be revised to restore construction-related employment training and job creation assistance.

The Task Force is aware that aboriginal peoples are, primarily as a result of program design, excluded from participating in other (mainstream) CMHC programs. As the Assembly of First Nations told the Task Force in Ottawa:

> CMHC subsidies fluctuate with interest rates. Many communities operate on the borderline of viability with no sources of funds to offset decreases in subsidy levels, thereby leaving these communities in a potential breach of operating agreements.

In urban areas, the feeling persists that aboriginal peoples are to be served exclusively by the Urban Native Housing Program, which has limited funding. Aboriginal populations in the urban centres of Western Canada are increasing at a rapid pace and these housing needs are increasing accordingly.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force recommends that CMHC program criteria be revised to increase their relevance in addressing aboriginal housing concerns. Natives, both on-reserve and off-reserve, must be afforded access to the full range of CMHC programs.

The Task Force was told with great eloquence by Mr. Calvin Pompana of the Urban Indian Association, in Winnipeg, of the urgent need to instill the pride of homeownership in the aboriginal community. The Task Force is aware of restrictions imposed by the Indian Act which limit the use of reserve lands in generating mortgage financing. New mechanisms must be developed to facilitate opportunities for both individual and collective forms of ownership. With First Nations so empowered, it is implicit that full legal powers be invested in them to plan developments on reserve land.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government begin consultations with First Nations to develop new and innovative methods to enhance ownership prospects both on-and off-reserve. These discussions should include the concept of sweat equity as a means to this end.

Throughout its deliberations and consultations, the Task Force found representatives of the First Nations open to discussion on a broad range of alternatives to the present system. The Task Force fervently believes that the federal government must renew its commitment to the First Nations so that their concerns may be addressed in a forthright manner.

In addition, there is little doubt that new delivery mechanisms which provide meaningful aboriginal management of programs are required. Finally, the program elements themselves must be revised and in many cases, replaced. The Task Force echoes the question placed before it on several occasions; how long can we let this deplorable state of housing continue?

VII. THE GOODS AND SERVICES TAX: Taxing the Canadian Dream

In a letter to Mr. Gary Santini, then-president of the Canadian Home Builders Association, dated November 10, 1988, Finance Minister Michael Wilson stated his "straightforward and genuine commitment" to "ensure that there is no negative impact on affordable housing from sales tax reform."

This commitment however, evaporated with the release in August of the Goods and Services Tax (GST) Technical Paper. The Technical Paper detailed a tax regime which would replace the 9 percent Federal Sales Tax applied to building materials such as lumber and bricks and the 13.5 percent Manufacturers Sales Tax applied to paint and wallpaper with a tax of 9 percent applied to the sale of new homes. The government told Canadians that the net tax increase on the average new home would be about 5 percent given the current tax burden on materials contained in new homes of approximately 4 percent.

The Conservative government told Canadians that the GST would add $4,400 to the $95,000 averaged-priced home in Halifax and $16,600 to the $270,000 average-priced home in Toronto. With the rebate proposed by the government, the efective tax increases for Halifax and Toronto would be $300 and $4,450 respectively.

Canadians understood the impact of the GST to be much worse and a direct blow to the provision of affordable housing, both rental and owner-occupied, in this country.

> It's possible at some point there could be a collapse in the housing market. The (tax) as it applies to housing will constitute a major assault on the affordability of housing right across the country.
>
> Tom Cochren, President, Canadian Home Builders Assoc.
> September 21, 1989

This concern was driven home at each one of the hearings. Representatives from the building industry, non-profit housing groups and provincial ministers of housing were unanimous in their rejection of the GST as proposed by the Conservative government.

Hon. Roberta Hubley, Minister responsible for the Prince Edward Island Housing Corporation conveyed the following view to the Task Force:

> The sum effect of the Goods and Services Tax, as proposed, is that we will all be paying more for our housing, whether we are homeowners or renters. New homes and rental properties will cost more because of the tax, and the existing real estate market, will, no doubt, adjust to this. Financing costs will rise, at least in the short term, and the cost of maintaining and operating a dwelling will also rise. I'd call that a triple whammy.

The Task Force was told in Toronto and Vancouver that the proposed scheme of rebates discriminates against new home buyers in high-land-cost markets. Through the GST, the Conservatives are proposing, for the first time, to tax the land component of housing. However, the GST does not take into account the factor that land costs, over which buyers have no control, vary considerably across the country. If land costs are backed out of the equation, construction costs are largely equal across the country. The structure of the GST penalizes those in high-land-cost regions and the rebate makes little provision for this. The negative impact of the GST will also be felt in centres across the country where housing costs are moderate relative to those in southern Ontario. The Task Force received briefs from industry representatives in Halifax, Toronto, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Regina, Ottawa, and Vancouver, all expressing these very concerns.

Several groups told the Task Force of their fears for the stability of the housing market in the aftermath of the GST. The Toronto Home Builders Association warned of buying surges in 1990 followed by a protracted slump following the introduction of the GST in January, 1991. In addition, representatives of the industry highlighted the inequity of the new tax distinction between existing and new housing. The differential impact of the tax and resultant market distortions will only exacerbate the slump expected in 1991, as demand is brought forward by homebuyers rushing to beat the GST.

The Conservatives were proud to announce that the GST would not apply to existing housing. True enough, but comments to the Task Force would indicate that the effect on the cost of existing housing will be virtually the same.

In their brief to the Task Force, the Ontario Real Estate Association highlighted this simple logic:

> While the proposed GST exempts most resale housing units, we fully expect that the cost of resale housing will rise as a result of the proposed GST for the simple reason that prices in the resale housing market tend to follow, to some extent, prices of new housing. The result will therefore be increased prices for resale housing as well as new homes.

Nor will renters escape the reach of the GST as the government claims. In a literal sense, this may be true but as the Rental Housing Council of British Columbia pointed out to the Task Force, the GST will cause rents in existing rental units to rise by at least $24 to $36 a month. In new rental units the monthly rent will climb approximately $65 for family apartments. While rents may be exempt, utilities, maintenance and services are not. The Canadian Housing and Renewal Association (CHRA) has stated that the GST will have a "severe impact" on the cost of housing, in particular the hundreds of thousands of households which pay more than 30 percent of their income in rent.

The Task Force was outraged to hear of the impact which the GST will have on the production of no-profit social housing. The GST will limit the ability of such groups to bank land for future developments as the tax will increase the cost and carrying charges. The CHRA has estimated that the cost of producing social housing will increase by 3 percent, even with a rebate proposed by the government. This increase will push the total costs over the Maximum Unit Prices established by the provincial and federal governments. The Task Force views this as one more example of the Conservative left hand not knowing what the right hand is doing.

The GST will also substantially increase the cost of home renovations across the country. The impact will be greatest in those parts of the country with older housing stocks, particularly in Atlantic Canada and the province of Quebec. While acknowledging that Montreal's housing stock is generally in good condition, the Service de l'habitation et du developpement urbain estimates that 60,000 units or 13 percent of the residential stock requires major repairs. The government's decision to eliminate the Rental RRAP will result in further deterioration of the housing stock.

> It is hard to believe a group of politically responsible people could seriously put

> forward a proposal that would intensify this country's crisis of affordable housing.
>
> Montreal Gazette
> November 29, 1989

The disbelief expressed above is shared by the members of the Task Force. The Chairman of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Finance has characterized Michael Wilson's proposal for taxing housing as a "bag of worms". This being the case, one struggles for an appropriate description of the Blenkarn prescription. One difficulty with the proposal is that it taxes future as opposed to current consumption. The Blenkarn proposal is neither fish nor fowl. It taxes neither consumption nor capital gains: it introduces a tax category of "asset accumulation". Under this ridiculous proposal, the GST is extended to existing housing as well as new construction. Dubbed the "trade-up" tax, this GST would be applied against Canadians who sold a house and purchased a more expensive unit. A 5 percent GST would be applied against the difference between two houses. Those who "trade-down" would not have to pay any tax. The genius of the Conservatives on the Finance Committee is that first-time homebuyers, the group who already face huge obstacles to homeownership, will be forced to pay the 5 percent rate on the entire purchase price. The proposal is riddled with other inequities. As Maurice Faraggi, president of the Canadian Real Estate Association points out:

> Imagine the plight of a homeowner moving from Regina to Toronto. He pays a lot more for a lot less house and still has the privilege of paying a 5 percent tax on his increased consumption.

While the hearings of the Task Force had been completed prior to the release of the Blenkarn proposal, the Task Force Members have no reluctance in condemning this variation of the GST.

On December 19, 1989, Michael Wilson went back to the drawing board and produced a 7 percent GST. Difficult as it is to imagine, this scheme is with respect to housing, worse than his original proposal. Granted, resale homes are still exempted from the tax, though as discussed, their value will increase in lock step with new housing. The effective tax rate of 4.5 percent remains as the rebate has been reduced to correspond with the overall lower rate. However, the middle class has been hit with another tax increase, thus reducing the amount of disposable income that families will be able to direct to their housing needs. In addition, the tax contains the same regional

inequities as the original proposal. Frank Giannone, president of the Toronto Home Builder's Association said following Wilson's announcement, the tax changes,

> continue to ignore the realities of the Metro-area housing market...fails to take into account regional differences in housing costs. As far as Wilson's concerned, he should cut the garbage and tell Canadians the truth. It is not a fair and equitable tax.

The consensus presented to the Task Force across Canada on the GST was clear; scrap the tax. As proposed, the GST will deepen the affordability crisis facing both potential homebuyers and rental households. It will introduce new distortions into the private housing market and intensify the financing pressures faced by the non-profit sector. It will endanger the tenuous lives of homeless and those living on the margins of homelessness. The GST will harm every aspect of the housing sector and therefore must not be implemented.

RECOMMENDATION

The Task Force recommends that the Conservative Goods and Services Tax proposal be withdrawn.

The debate over the GST has highlighted a prominent issue in national tax policy -- the lack of co-ordination between the two senior levels of government. The tax debate with respect to housing is complicated by the fact that municipal governments levy taxes in this sector as well. The average Canadian homebuyer is confronted with a series of taxes, development charges and lot levies. It is vital that all three levels of government pursue tax policies with due consideration for the cumulative effect on the housing sector.

RECOMMENDATION

Further to the preceding recommendation, the Task Force recommends that the Conservative government begin consultations with Canadians and provincial governments on the creation of a fair and integrated reform of the entire tax system. The present Manufacturers Sales Tax (often referred to as the Federal Sales Tax) must not be replaced with a tax that creates more inequities and deepens the affordability crisis faced by hundreds of thousands of Canadian households.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government place the issue of shelter rights on the list of items to be discussed at the next First Ministers' Conference.

2. The Task Force urges the Conservative government to lift the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP) ceilings announced in the 1990 Budget. Further, that negotiations be initiated with the provinces, in the context of CAP, to increase the implicit shelter component of provincial social assistance allowances.

3 The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government initiate consultations and negotiations with the provinces to establish a new social program which provides an income supplement for workers whose earnings from employment leaves them below the poverty line. This program should: be built upon existing provincial income supplementation programs; be national in scope and cost-shared by federal and provincial governments; support the work ethic; vary the amount of supplement depending on the number of children in the family; and complement existing social programs and initiatives recommended by this report.

4. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government immediately convene a National Conference on the Homeless with participation from all levels of government, the non-profit sector and the private sector to set real objectives and policy responses for the eradication of homelessness in Canada. As well, the federal government must initiate discussions with provincial Ministries of Health and/or Community and Social Servies to ensure that the immediate and long-term needs of the homeless are addressed.

5. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government reinstate the funds cut in April, 1989 from the rental component of the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program. In addition, new guidelines must be presented to ensure that the mandate of this program is unquestionably to assist in the provision of affordable rental accommodations for needy Canadians.

6. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government immediately commence a review of the disabled persons component of the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program with a view to improving accessibility criteria.

Further, that the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation examine the feasibility of basing assistance upon the individual's degree of disability as opposed to a strict definition of income, within reason.

7. The Task Force recommends that funding for the Federal Co-operative Housing program and the Rent Supplement Program be increased to allow for the construction of 5,000 new co-operative housing units annually. Further, it is suggested that a formal consultative mechanism be established with the Co-operative Housing Federation of Canada with respect to the disposition of surplus federal lands. Finally, the Task Force recommends that the Conservative government use the current evaluation of the Federal Co-operative Housing Program to examine new possibilities for co-operative housing in Canada.

8. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government amend Treasury Board regulations which require that Crown lands be disposed of at market prices and that federal departments, Crown corporations and agencies be required to identify land parcels, buildings and facilities surplus to their needs. Surplus Crown lands should be made available, on a priority basis, to public and private non-profit and co-operative housing companies, associations and groups. The government should explore the feasibility of leasing Crown lands to assist in the production of affordable housing. Further, that a comprehensive policy for the disposition of these lands be implemented including mechanisms to facilitate the involvement of private sector developers and municipalities in the production of affordable housing.

9. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government ensure that an adequate supply of affordable housing units be made available under the amalgam of programs administered by the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation for individuals with special needs. The location and design of units supported by CMHC must not prevent or discourage occupants from seeking or receiving rehabilitative and clinical services.

10. The Task Force urges the Minister of State (Housing) to expedite the development of a new national allocation formula which minimizes the year to year funding reductions a province may incur.

11. The Task Force implores the Conservative government to take immediate steps to lower the Bank of Canada prime rate and thus moderate mortgage interest rates.

12. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government undertake a thorough examination of the proposal of the Canadian Real Estate Association respecting the use of RRSP funds for home purchases, with a consultative process to

include representatives from the home building industry, financial institutions and the investment community. Further, the examination should extend beyond RRSP holdings to include other pension/retirement mechanisms.

13. The Task Force recommends that Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation in co-operation with the Department of Finance undertake a thorough review of mortgage financing in Canada. This review should pay particular attention to measures such as the Mortgage-Backed Securities Program and other such instruments which work to stabilize and moderate mortgage interest rates. Further, that the review include intensive consultations with the Canadian financial community and the home building industry.

14. The Task Force recommends that the Minister of State (Housing) convene a special meeting of his provincial counterparts and the Federation of Canadian Municipalities to review the full range of consequences of housing taxation at all three levels of government. Further, that the federal government give consideration to the total level of taxation on housing prior to any subsequent tax inceases at the national level in this area.

15. The Task Force recommends that the Minister of State (Housing) convene at the earliest possible date, a National Housing Forum to discuss the development of a national housing policy and related strategies such as municipal infrastructure, aimed at alleviating the housing crisis in Canada.

16. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government take steps necessary to increase the investment of private capital and the use of private sector resources in the provision of affordable housing by encouraging private lenders and developers to participate in public-private partnerships.

17. The Task Force urges the Conservative government to begin immediately, a consultation process involving Revenue Canada, the Department of Finance and Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation with a view to developing new community and housing investment mechanisms which facilitate the construction, acquisition or rehabilitation of affordable housing through public-private and non-profit-private partnerships.

18. The Task Force recommends that Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation study the concept of Community Land Trusts with a view to determining their efficiency and effectiveness in providing long-term affordable housing.

19. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government establish a single federal agency in partnership with the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, for an initial

period of five years, to assume complete responsibility for Indian housing in that province. Further, the Task Force recommends that the process be evaluated with a view to implementation on a national scale.

20. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government set the year 2000 as the target for the elimination of sub-standard on-reserve housing and allocate the necessary funds to accomplish this objective.

21. The Task Force recommends that the Canadian Job Strategy (CJS) criteria be revised to restore construction-related employment training and job creation assistance.

22. The Task Force recommends that the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation's program criteria be revised to increase their relevance in addressing aboriginal housing concerns. Natives, both on-reserve and off-reserve, must be afforded access to the full range of CMHC programs.

23. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative government begin consultations with First Nations to develop new and innovative methods to enhance ownership prospects both on- and off-reserve. These discussions should include the concept of sweat equity as a means to this end.

24. The Task Force recommends that the Conservative Goods and Services Tax proposal be withdrawn.

25. Further to the preceding recommendation, the Task Force recommends that the Conservative government begin consultations with Canadians and provincial governments on the creation of a fair and integrated reform of the entire tax system. The present Manufacturers Sales Tax (often referred to as the Federal Sales Tax) must not be replaced with a tax that creates more inequities and deepens the affordability crisis faced by hundreds of thousands of Canadian households.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF PUBLIC HEARINGS AND PRESENTERS

Toronto, August 30, 1989

Tom Clement, Ms. Penelope Winter
Co-operative Housing Federation of Toronto

Bill Bosworth
Homes First Society

Dr. Alex Murray, Department of Environmental and Urban Studies, York University

Ted Mouradian - President, Kevan O'Connor - Chairman, Political Affairs Committee, Jim Flood - Director of Government Relations
Ontario Real Estate Association

A.R. Cooper - Vice President, Tom Almond - Chairman, Mortgage Committee, Canadian Bankers Association

Ward Campbell - Immediate Past President
Hamilton and District Home Builders Association

Toronto, August 31, 1989

Larry Gordon
Private Citizen

David Thornley
Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto

Frank Giannone - President, Gordon Thompson - Immediate Past President, Ms. Katarina Acs - Government Relations Co-ordinator
Toronto Home Builders Association

Don Richmond - President, Ms. Debbie Kraus - Executive Director
Ontario Non-Profit Housing Association

Ms. Judith Kjellberg Bell, Ms. Leslie Robinson
Affordable Housing Action Group

Ontario Council of Chiefs

Regina, September 5, 1989

Chief Roland Crowe
Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations

Lester Henry
Silver Sage Housing Corporation

Ken McKinlay - Executive Director
Saskatchewan Home Builders Association Inc.

Chief Strator Crowfoot
Siksika Tribal Administration

Bruce Lotts - Executive Director, Ms. Julie MacDonald - Co-ordinator
Co-operative Housing Federation of Saskatchewan

Winnipeg, September 6, 1989

Rudy Comeault, Manager
Housing Co-op Council of Manitoba

Dr. Tom Carter, Director
Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg

Dr. Errol Lewis
Manitoba Association for Rights and Liberties

Ms. Susan Chipperfield - Manager (Supportive Housing Program)
Canadian Mental Health Association

Bruce Maybank - President
Manitoba Home Builders Association

Tom Lewicki
Manitoba Real Estate Association

Ernie Gilroy, Chairman of Committee on Planning and Community Services
City of Winnipeg

Chief Esau Turner - Chairman, Housing Committee
The Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs

Calvin Pompana, President
Urban Indian Association

Greg Winmill - Rehabilitation Counsellor
Canadian Paraplegic Association

Bob Strong
Private Citizen

Rev. Doug Martindale - Chairperson
The Housing Concerns Group of Winnipeg Inc.

Vancouver, September 11, 1989

Dr. David Hulchansky, Director, Centre for Human Settlement
University of British Columbia

John Jessup
Department of Housing, City of Vancouver

Elaine Duvall
Co-operative Housing Alliance of British Columbia

Keith Sashaw, Executive Vice-President
Canadian Home Builders Association of British Columbia

Jack Hayes - Executive Director
Rental Housing Council of B. C.

Montreal, October 2, 1989

Pierre Paquette - President
Conseil Central de Montreal

Francois Saillant, Pierre Gaudreault
F.R.A.P.R.U.

Miklos Fulop, Marcellin Hudon
Conseil de développement du logement communautaire

John Gardiner - Member of the Executive Committee
Ville de Montréal

Mrs. Paule Lavoie
Forum des citoyens du 3è âge

Mrs. Marthe D'Amours - President
Fédération du logement coopératif

Hugues Moisan
Association des Propriétaires et Constructeurs d'Habitation du Québec

Halifax, October 5, 1989

Nick Meyer
Cooperative Housing Federation of Nova Scotia

Brother Bill Welton SCJ - Director, Father Peter McKenna SCJ
Hope Cottage

Ms. Deborah Walker - President
Canadian Home Builder's Association (Nova Scotia)

Mrs. Shirley Marryatt - Interim Co-ordinator
Halifax - Metro Welfare Rights Association

Jim Duke - Housing Co-ordinator
City of Dartmouth

Moncton, October 10, 1989

Ms. Brenda Murphy, Ms. Leslie Tennant
Saint John Housing Coalition

David MacDougall - Development Manager
Atlantic Peoples Housing Ltd.

Hon. Peter Trites - Minister of Housing
Province of New Brunswick

Mrs. Hazel Bedford - Co-ordinator, Leo-Paul Pinet, Lorne Preston, Wayne Patterson
Habitation New Brunswick

Michael Gendron, Hubert Doucet
Front d'Habitation - Nepisiquit

David Higgins - Director, David Humphries - Advisor for Federal Affairs, Mrs. Shirley Taylor - Advisor for Communications
Canadian Real Estate Association

Ms. Monica Chaperlin - Executive Director
Housing Alternatives Inc.

Ottawa, October 16, 1989

Mrs. Aline Akeson - Executive Director, Michael Wilson, Ron Kellestine
Housing Help

Terrence Hunsley, Executive Director, Ms. Mary Ann McLaughlin
Canadian Council on Social Development

Ms. Cindy Moriarty, Ms. Elizabeth Arden
Social Planning Council of Ottawa-Carleton

Bob Player, President Ms. Sylvia Haines, Executive Director
Canadian Housing and Renewal Association

Jean Dionne, Yves Lord, Ms. Alison Bowick
Cooperative Housing Federation of Canada

Bob Decontie, Co-ordinator, Housing Task Force
Assembly of First Nations

OTHER SUBMISSIONS

Jerry Pickard M.P. (Essex-Kent)
National Liberal Caucus

George Rideout M.P. (Moncton)
Critic for Co-operatives
National Liberal Caucus

Federation of Canadian Municipalities
Ottawa

Hon. Roberta Hubley
Minister Responsible for Prince Edward Island Housing Corporation
Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island

Hon. Tom Butters - Minister of Housing
Northwest Territories

George Brown - Alderman
City of Ottawa

Mrs. Irene Mooney
Kingston, Ontario

The Appraisal Institute of Canada

Laszlo Lichter, Warden
Municipality of the County of Halifax

Joseph Yuen
University of Winnipeg

Sanford Levin
Toronto, Ontario

Don Ament
Ten Ten Sinclair Housing Inc.
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Professor J. Grant Wanzel, School of Architecture
Technical University of Nova Scotia
Halifax, Nova Scotia

K.W. Sadler - City Clerk
The Corporation of the City of London
London, Ontario

Ms. Sheila MacKenzie
Cornerstone Housing Association
Halifax, Nova Scotia

Ms. Ann L. Longley
Municipality of the County of Kings, Nova Scotia

Mrs. Meryle Dembinski
Liberal Party of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Nova Scotia Real Estate Association
Halifax, Nova Scotia

Ms. Lara Norris
Student's Union of Nova Scotia
Halifax, Nova Scotia

Municipality of the County of Queens, Nova Scotia

D.J. Flood
Ontario Real Estate Association

Ms. Milica Kovacevich
SPARC
St. Catherine's, Ontario

Ms. Leslie Watson
Housing Department, City of Toronto

Ms. Bernadette Gutarna
Substandard Housing Action Committee
Regina, Saskatchewan